

Ferhat Hached's Death Warrant—*Alexander Werth*

THE *Nation*

December 20, 1952

SPIES OR SAPPERS?

Who Is Undermining
the U. N.?

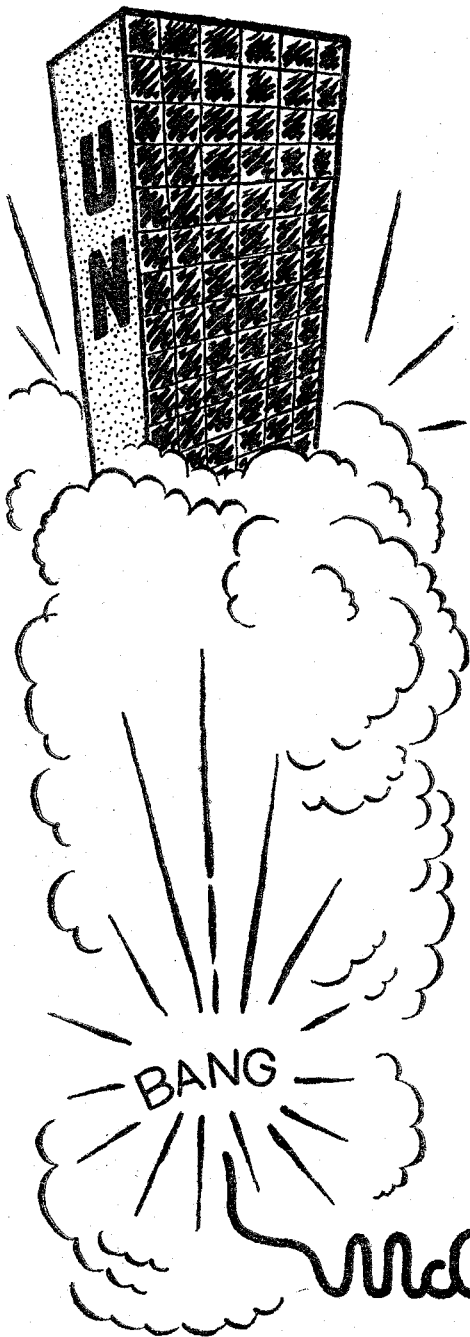
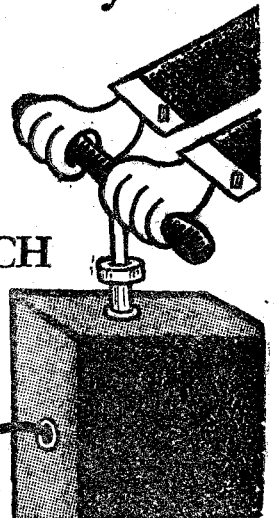
BY LILLIE SHULTZ

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“One Heartbeat Away”

*Veeps Can Be
Presidents*

BY MONROE E. DEUTSCH



McCarran Committee

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Life on the Black List

Hollywood

HOW does it feel to be blacklisted in Hollywood? How does it feel when a producer who has been discussing a job with you for some time suddenly calls you up and explains with embarrassment that it's all off? For a moment you are seized by sheer panic. You are lost. You have no country, no civil rights, no means of livelihood. And you have heard so much about guilt by association that you hesitate to go to see anyone. When you meet an acquaintance you wait to be recognized, not wishing to spread the infection. You feel that like the lepers of the Middle Ages you ought to tinkle a bell and cry out the old warning, "Unclean!" "Unclean!"

But after a while you realize it isn't that way at all. Like so many other things that threaten our freedom, the black list is half reality and half myth.

An actor who had appeared at a televised hearing of the Un-American Activities Committee and been pilloried as a subversive—linked with the betrayers of our atom-bomb secrets and with those who were killing American boys in Korea—went home trembling at the thought of what the half-million television viewers would do to him. He pictured his little bungalow in ruins and an infuriated mob waiting for him.

Nothing of the kind. His neighbor was out mowing the lawn—a burly man who up to this time had never even exchanged a good morning. Now he left his lawnmower and came up to shake the actor's hand. Of course this did not help the actor in his subsequent financial difficulties, but it helped his morale. He could still feel he was a member of the community. He was still an American.

The myth in the black list is the studios' unsupported claim that Americans refuse to patronize pictures in which alleged "Reds" have any part, that they are forced to fire "suspects" to avoid financial loss. Yet almost any evening we blacklisted people can see ourselves in our old movies on television. Do the companies have any difficulty in selling these pictures? And are they not putting us right into people's homes?

The effect of the black list is the real

part. After my earning power was cut off, I was forced to cancel some of my insurance policies. My agent told me I could never get them back at the old rates. "Blacklisted people," he said, "are rated like steeplejacks and gangsters; they must pay an additional 50 per cent premium because their chances of living out a normal life are that much lower than the average."

A writer can continue to make a few dollars as long as his typewriter is not confiscated; actors and directors are really on the spot. They can't use pen names—not that a pen name solves everything. A friend of mine has written a novel that seems slated for success and sale to the movies. But to get the film companies to take it he will have to publish it under a pseudonym as a first novel, forfeiting the benefit of his established reputation. Another blacklisted writer took a new name when he began to write for television. His scripts were so good that he was asked to sign a contract. This would have required his appearance at headquarters, and he had to refuse in order to prevent his identity becoming known. Now he is starting all over again under still another name.

Last August the California branch of Amvets, following the lead of the American Legion, called on the heads of motion-picture studios to sign a pledge that they would not employ any person who refused to answer the questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee or any other duly constituted government agency investigating charges of alleged subversion.

HOW ARE these vicious attacks being combated? The sterility of the defense is graphically illustrated by a recent proposal of the Motion Picture Industry Council, an association of the guilds and unions working in films. The council's solution was to create a "services committee" which would examine the various black lists, inform the victims, investigate their explanations of past political connections and conduct, and if possible have their names removed from the lists. If the "offense" amounted to nothing more than having been duped into signing a Communist-inspired peti-

tion, the committee hoped to be able to get an exoneration. The Screen Writers' Guild, balloting by mail, turned down the proposal. Its president, Mary McCall, put the situation in a nutshell. "This 'services committee,'" she said, "sets up a black list by inference. These people are not being challenged by the government but by the Myron Fagans, the Jack Tenneys, and the Gerald L. K. Smiths. It is time the motion-picture industry refused to be pressured by these groups."

Actors who sit endlessly by a telephone that doesn't ring and never will ring because their names are on some list that they have never been told about know the reality of the black list. The myth is that the American people support the shenanigans of the witch-hunters. As Governor Stevenson said in a campaign speech, the best answer to communism is more democracy.

GUY ENDORE

[Guy Endore, author of "Babouk," "Methinks the Lady," "The Werewolf of Paris," and other books, has been a successful screen-writer in Hollywood for many years. His article explains why he is not now employed in the industry.]

With Miss Shultz's article, Spies or Sappers? in this issue, *The Nation* continues its campaign against repression and anti-democratic methods at the U. N. and the pressures from Washington which are largely responsible for them.

Previous articles within the past few months include:

1. The Campaign Against the U. N., by Richard Friedlich, September 20
2. For a Free United Nations, by J. Alvarez del Vayo, October 11
3. Smearing the U. N., editorial, November 1
4. The War Against the U. N., by Freda Kirchwey, November 22
5. Dark Days at the U. N., by Leonard B. Boudin, December 6
6. The U. N. under Siege, editorial, December 13

Interested readers can send for any or all of these issues.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 20, 1952

NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

Setback for Adenauer

This time Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's proverbial shrewdness has not proved sufficient to overcome the obstacles that block ratification on schedule of the disputed treaties with the West. There is of course not the slightest chance of a favorable vote before the end of the year, and it looks as though he would have to work hard well into 1953 to disentangle himself from the complications that have suddenly arisen. The most serious of these derives from his conflict with the federal Constitutional Court, which makes the problem much more serious than if he merely had to fight his way through the interplay of German politics.

Faced with Socialist opposition to the treaties on constitutional grounds, the Chancellor tried first to win the court to his policy; but when he saw that he risked an adverse decision, he persuaded the President of West Germany, Theodor Heuss, to withdraw his request to the Constitutional Court for an opinion. In doing so Adenauer only gave new weapons to the Social Democrats. Addressing the nation over the radio on December 11, Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the party, assailed what he called the "pernicious tactics" of the government. The Bonn peace contract with the Western allies and the European Defense Community Treaty were under heavier fire than ever.

From the beginning the plan to reconstitute the German army has been resisted everywhere in Europe, but the greatest obstacles to its realization may now prove to be within Germany itself. The only people who take a less gloomy view of the prospect of ratification are those cynics who say that the result of all these difficulties will be to force the United States to pay a higher price for the Germany army on which Washington has built so great a part of its military plan.

Trouble at the Palais Chaillot

The NATO meeting that opened in Paris on Monday was hardly more promising. Hanson W. Baldwin, who is covering it after a careful previous survey in each affected country, wrote in the *New York Times*: "The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is now entering upon

the winter of its discontent." This time the non-American members have made no attempt to hide their anxieties, and the opening speech by Premier De Gasperi of Italy pointing out that military effort was not enough and asking for more emphasis on social and political problems won an immediate response.

The European members have also been insisting on the necessity of airing complaints and disagreements that are ordinarily hidden in confidential memoranda. It was the French who took the initiative. Perhaps because they consider themselves insufficiently supported in North Africa and Indo-China, or because they resent being constantly blamed for the rearmament slowdown, they are less interested than usual in diplomatic punctilio. In any case they have put the controversial issue of who is to blame for non-fulfilment of the Lisbon plan in the foreground of the general discussion. While the Americans criticize the Europeans for not pushing military preparation ahead of everything else, the Europeans complain that the Americans have failed to make available promised arms and dollars. Coupled with the uncertainty about the intentions of General Eisenhower and his Administration, this mood of reciprocal disapproval does not augur well for a constructive meeting.

No Witch Hunters Wanted

At a poorly attended meeting on October 17 the Huntington (West Virginia) Post of the American Legion adopted a resolution demanding that the trustees of Marshall College investigate the background of all the speakers to be heard on a college-sponsored forum. It also called attention to the fact that the names of Max Lerner, Margaret Bourke White, and Paul Engle, who had agreed to speak, appear in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In response to this demand, the president of the college promptly announced that the forum series would be canceled. But the student senate and the faculty just as promptly passed resolutions calling upon the Forum Board to reinstate the series. By a vote of approximately 500 to 10 the membership of the forum then adopted a similar resolution, and the series will now be resumed.

In commenting on the membership's action, the student newspaper notes that "witch-hunters . . . are as great a menace to our freedom as any Communist or Communist sympathizer. At least we know what to expect from the

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Reds. But these witch-hunters, who are probably extremely patriotic though misguided Americans, would take away some of our cherished freedoms in order to dig up their red herrings." The students and faculty of Marshall College obviously do not intend to permit the administration to be intimidated by off-campus pressure groups. A few more actions of this kind would go far toward erasing the unpleasant impressions created by the indecent ouster of Dr. Luella Mundell from the State Teachers' College at Fairmont (see *The Nation* of August 9).

The De Luxe War

The Korean War, reports the veteran correspondent Homer Bigart, has become "relatively endurable." It is gratifying to learn that it is now possible to get a fairly good martini at division headquarters and that ice cream is occasionally available "clear down to the platoon level." With good roads, safe lookout posts accessible by jeep, warming tents in which to thaw out, prefabricated bunkers, heated latrines, and other minor miracles, our forces in Korea are obviously fighting a de luxe war. To be sure, the casualties now exceed 128,000, but that is obviously another day's story. What worries us is the idea of the war in Korea becoming a "way of life," a stalemate made less unendurable by modern conveniences and ice cream. While continuing to place the accent on comfort, a little more attention might be paid to achieving a cease-fire by negotiation.

For Solvency, Freer Trade

The final statement of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London has been criticized in the British press as verbose and platitudinous. Nevertheless, it does suggest some important changes in Commonwealth economic policy. That it does so in very cautious terms is understandable, for, as the communiqué hints plainly, the feasibility of these policies will be determined by Washington as much as by London.

Tentatively at any rate the Commonwealth nations have rejected those ideals of self-sufficiency pressed on them by both the Beaverbrook imperialists and the Bevanite leftists. In principle they agree that "a multi-lateral trade-and-payments system should be extended over the widest possible area." Full achievement of this, they recognize, will require the restoration of sterling convertibility and the abolition of the discriminatory trade restrictions that have been used to protect sterling reserves.

The Commonwealth countries propose to help create conditions favorable to convertibility by suppressing internal inflation and encouraging economic development—a pair of policies, incidentally, that do not take kindly to double harness. At the same time they declare that

"the rate of progress in removing discrimination will depend on the advance toward equilibrium between the United States and the rest of the world." Further, the pre-conditions of convertibility include adoption by the trading nations of policies "conducive to expansion of world trade" and "the availability of adequate financial support through the International Monetary Fund or otherwise." Clearly this communiqué must be regarded as an urgent memo to the incoming Republican Administration. But before it can receive the attention it deserves, Mr. Eisenhower will have to resolve the inner contradictions of his party on the subject of foreign economic policy. That is likely to prove a long, tough job.

Those Bothersome Briefcases

On December 2, an atomic scientist, homeward bound from Eniwetok burdened with grim and deadly knowledge, left a briefcase containing "top-secret reports" at the Fort De Russy billeting office in Honolulu. A day or so later Foy D. Kohler, a high official in the State Department, was arrested in Arlington, Virginia, on a charge of intoxication and was found to be carrying two "secret" reports in a briefcase. (Classified papers are marked: "top secret," "secret," "confidential," or "restricted," in that order.) "There is no question of Kohler's loyalty or anything like that," reports Michael McDermott, the State Department's press officer; "he has had an excellent performance and security record during twenty-one years of service." Nor, one may be sure, was there any question about the loyalty of the absent-minded atomic scientist. Doubtless both men merited the highest rating as security risks. Yet one missing briefcase could expose this country to dangers which the President's loyalty program, with its threat to civil liberties and the morale of federal employees, could not prevent. Briefcases will be mislaid, and the best of security risks will, near Christmas, take one drink too many. Obviously this is not an argument against reasonable security precautions; nevertheless it should give some pause to the chief victims of the loyalty obsession as they cook up their morbid security projects. Unfortunately it won't.

The Corruption of Business

Recent studies made by the F. B. I. show an "alarming increase" in defalcations and embezzlements. During 1951 the number of embezzlements and shortages in banks and savings associations increased 25 percent, with a total increase of 188 per cent since 1946. Of 19 banks to which the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has given financial assistance in the last six years, 16 had suffered from large defalcations. Last year more than 700 bank officers and employees were involved in criminal embezzlements or similar shortages, most of the

offenders being bank officers rather than clerks, tellers, or lesser employees.

The F. B. I. study attracted little attention, but the recent report of the House Judiciary Committee (released on December 5) denouncing "fee-splitting, bribe-taking, and double-dealing" on the part of lawyers in the Department of Justice won headlines from coast to coast. The transgressions detailed are ascribed to the corruption of the "Washington conscience," which sanctions wrongdoing on the "unpardonable justification that everybody is doing it." So long as men in public office set such "hideous examples," the committee declared, "we cannot even begin to think about a solution to the very grave and pressing problem of restoring public confidence in government." But what about public confidence in business? Is the percentage of "hideous examples" among government lawyers greater than among the officers and employees of American banks and other fiduciary institutions? And isn't the "Washington conscience" simply a reflection of the "Main Street conscience"?

From Shape-Up to Shake-Down

THE water-front investigation of the New York State Crime Commission is still in its early stages but it has already uncovered a shocking state of affairs in the world's greatest port. Examination of witnesses, mostly reluctant if not downright balky, has shown that employers and union alike are deeply involved in corruption and that murder, mayhem, and theft run riot in an industry in which a criminal record appears to be the requisite of advancement.

While many new details are being spread on the record, the pattern revealed is familiar enough to those with memories beyond last week's headlines. The rotten state of New York's water front was revealed by several previous investigations, and voluminous information on the subject has been published by enterprising reporters. Seven years ago, in November, 1945, two articles by Maurice Rosenblatt in this magazine gave a vivid account of the methods by which Joe Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, a well-heeled gentleman with excellent political connections, ruled his "kingdom" with the aid of gunmen and racketeers. The root of the evil, Mr. Rosenblatt showed, is the "shape-up" system of hiring which insures a constant over-supply of workers and gives absolute power to the hiring bosses. This system, frequently challenged by rebel rank-and-file movements, has been maintained by an alliance between Ryan and the bosses.

On the West Coast the "shape-up" has been replaced, thanks to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, by a "hiring-hall" system that insures a fair division of available work among all registered

longshoremen. One Crime Commission witness, Andrew D. Warwick, president of a stevedoring firm, expressed dislike of the hiring halls but conceded that costs were lower on the West Coast. "I believe," he said, "that if the San Francisco system was adopted in the Port of New York, the efficiency here would increase from \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 a year."

The I. L. W. U. is not run by racketeers, but because some of its leaders are left-wingers it has long been harassed by the Department of Justice, which has taken singularly little interest in the New York water front even though pilferage and smuggling there cause huge losses to the federal Treasury. Perhaps this is because Joe Ryan and his cohorts are exponents of that vociferous patriotism that seemed to Dr. Johnson to be "the last refuge of a scoundrel." Not long ago the I. L. A. won the hearty applause of the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press by refusing to unload cargoes of Russian furs. Now evidence given to the Crime Commission shows that this noble gesture was part of a skin-game: after payment of \$70,000 to two mysterious water-front characters, the union boycott was quietly ended.

ON THE water front bribery appears to be a normal if not legitimate business cost. The evidence shows that as much as \$20,000 have been paid to shipping-company executives by stevedoring concerns as a means of procuring business. The shipping companies are at the top of the pork barrel, and when their leading officers stoop to such practices it is not surprising to find the rot spreading toward the bottom. In fact, there seem to be illicit profits for all except the real "working stiff," of whom scarcely one-third earn \$3,000 or more a year. Another third, according to a witness before the commission, take home less than \$200 a year. "We regard such men as floaters," he said. "They might work on other jobs to make their living. In a war emergency, however, we would be glad to get these men to go to work."

Rank-and-file workers, from whose dues Mr. Ryan as lifetime president of the I. L. A. is paid a salary of \$20,000 a year, might well ask for what purpose their employers give him the handsome presents revealed in the testimony before the commission. Is it payment for refraining from demanding better wages and working conditions?

In an article on the investigation in the latest issue of the I. L. A. *Longshore News*, Ryan passes over testimony raising such awkward questions and pours scorn on the commission as a "boondoogling" group, a "haven for retired politicians and ambitious political hacks." He points out that the docks are "just about the most policed area in the country," since not only the New York police but the F. B. I., the Customs Bureau, the Port Security Bureau, and the Coast Guard have "jurisdiction there."

"If there were any organized crime on the water front," says Ryan, "these groups would certainly have found it."

Mr. Ryan, we think, has a point, though not the one he is trying to make. The water front is well covered by officers, local and federal, whose job is to detect and prevent crime. How is it, then, that so many criminals operate so freely there? The New York State Crime Commission will not complete its job unless it insists on getting an answer to that question.

Can the Armament Boom Be Levelled Off?

THE Republicans are back in power; the last long-haired professors in Washington are hurriedly packing their belongings; "hard-headed," "practical" corporate executives are swarming through the government agencies; the political climate in Congress and the Administration could not conceivably be more favorable to business, even with Mr. Durkin as Secretary of Labor, and still there are no signs of exuberance in our insatiable "business community." On the contrary, as if mindful of the day of wrath that is to follow the day of sin, thoughtful business men seem to allow their worries about the future to cloud their enjoyment of the present.

Happily, editors of *Fortune* have taken it upon themselves to provide some cheer for their dispirited clients. The magazine's December issue is dedicated to this task, presenting its readers with an "encouraging appraisal of what's ahead." On the basis of a careful inspection of the crystal ball the *Fortune* editors see absolutely no reason for taking a dim view of the future. In any case whatever disagreeable situations may have to be faced will not arise until "late 1955." The reasons for the selection of that soothing date are not disclosed—the available information usually makes it late 1953, when the "building-up" phase of the armament effort is to come to a close and the "maintenance" phase to begin.

Also puzzling is the assumption introduced in passing that forty billion dollars will be spent annually on the military establishment even after the maintenance phase has set in. An awful lot of maintenance can be got for forty billion dollars, particularly if one considers that half of this sum is to be allocated, according to the *Fortune* editors' estimate, to purchases of "hardware." Though technical progress today and consequently obsolescence are extremely rapid, quite a bit of additional building-up would have to take place for forty billion dollars to be spent year in and year out by the military.

Large as this amount would seem if all that mattered was defense, it is disturbingly low from the economic standpoint. Compared with the current level of military

spending it represents a cut of some twenty billion dollars. The *Fortune* forecasters, however, are not too alarmed. Consumers' purchases of durable goods are to pick up—although there is not the slightest hint as to where the purchasing power for this expansion is to come from. The low- and middle-income groups, it has been established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, are either barely making ends meet or going into debt; the upper-income groups are pretty well saturated with automobiles and television sets, washing machines and refrigerators. In fact, the *Fortune* analysis itself predicts only a "relatively stable" market for automobiles and a decline in house construction. Yet automobiles account for the lion's share of all spending on durables, and less house construction means fewer kitchen stoves, fewer refrigerators, fewer washing machines.

NOR is it likely that the demand for investment goods, the second pillar of the *Fortune* optimism, will rise sufficiently to offset the drop in military spending and the possible contraction of consumers' spending. The *Fortune* editors point to the ambitious investment plans of the chemical and oil industries. The expansion plans of the former, however, are importantly determined by the level of government spending, while the oil companies are already complaining about mounting excess capacity.

Indeed, *Fortune's* picture of the future will hardly pep up its listless readers. All that it expects is "a gross national product of \$348 billion in 1955 [the same as in the fourth quarter of 1952]; a larger labor force, higher productivity, and unemployment possibly around five million." In other words, the "encouraging appraisal of what's ahead" shows a stagnant level of income, sizable and growing unemployment, and ever-increasing danger of a major depression.

But if *Fortune* is doing its best to inspire its readers with the hope that even reduced military spending can be weathered successfully, its contemporary *Business Week* is more outspoken. Discussing Korea on November 29 that journal remarked: "A truce will make the predicted business slide almost certain. It won't alter our rearmament plans materially. We will go ahead, building up here and abroad. But the argument of urgency will become even less persuasive. . . . Failure of cease-fire efforts could be a stimulant. . . ." The pressure for such "stimulants" will increase as the armament prosperity loses its present momentum, and Mr. Dulles seems to be counted on to deliver the required "crises." In the words of *Business Week*, "he advocates freedom to 'counter-attack' where desirable. This is risky. He could underestimate Russia. But it's a change from purely defensive diplomacy."

It is playing with fire next to a powder keg to prolong and intensify an armament boom.

Straddle on Tunisia

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE U. N. debate on Tunisia left everybody half satisfied and the problem no nearer a solution. Instead of the Arab-Asian resolution calling upon France "to establish normal conditions and normal civil liberties in Tunisia" and urging the creation of a Commission of Good Offices to help with the negotiations, a Latin American resolution was adopted appealing to the parties concerned "to conduct their relations and to settle their disputes in the spirit of the Charter and to refrain from any acts or measures likely to aggravate the present situation."

The Tunisians had, however, the satisfaction of seeing their nationalist claims given world-wide attention. While only a few months ago the presiding Pakistan delegate was unable to convince his colleagues on the Security Council that Tunisia should even be considered, the question has now been lengthily thrashed out in the Political Committee. The Tunisian dispute was thus elevated from a French colonial squabble to a major international issue. This was hardly calculated to make the French happy, since they had stubbornly insisted that the United Nations lacked jurisdiction; but they were at least spared the diplomatic defeat which adoption of the Arab-Asian resolution would have meant.

While the debate on Tunisia did not produce the intensity of feeling that marked the Korean discussions, it was by no means devoid of importance and interest. The decisive moment was hastened by Washington's intervention. The United States was actually the architect of the Tunisian half-and-half result. If the Americans irritated the French by insisting on a full discussion of the Tunisian problem, they also made sure that the outcome would not be unfavorable to France. Mr. Jessup achieved this difficult balance in an adroit statement. "When a situation," he said, "so deeply disturbs a group of important and respected states that they are moved to take the responsibility for bringing it to the attention of the General Assembly, we are all bound to be concerned. Some may conclude that the proponents' fears and anxieties are unjustified, but if those fears and anxieties remain a fact, they constitute a factor—a disturbing factor—in international relations." This comment was intended to please the Arab-Asian states. It was quickly followed by a paragraph aimed at France: "We have recognized and continue to recognize the existing treaty relationship between France on the one hand and Tunisia on the other. The United States supports the evolutionary development in the relations between France and Tunisia contemplated in the treaties of Le Bardo and La Marsa. We further believe that any development interfering with

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this orderly process would be the wrong way to deal with the situation." The right way, in the American conception, is the adoption of the Latin American resolution which places France under no obligation whatsoever.

It was the new Administration that spoke through Ambassador Jessup. The appointment of Henry Cabot Lodge as new head of the American delegation to the United Nations was an agreeable surprise to the Quai d'Orsay. During the war, in 1944 and 1945, Mr. Lodge had been in contact with French African officers in Italy, France, and Germany and had been regarded as more responsive to French interests than the old "pro-Arab" group of the State Department. The election of General Eisenhower had been greeted with relief in the circles surrounding the colonial Residents General. They hoped that his accession to the Presidency would mean a triumph of strategic considerations over the moral and juridical scruples that on several occasions had tied the hands of Mr. Acheson.

And incidentally we have witnessed this week a cooling-off of American anti-imperialist ardor in another sphere. The United States led the fight for "moderation" in the Trusteeship Committee, the first setback in the current session, which had been marked by a rising tide of anti-colonialism under the leadership of the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. Cold water was poured on a resolution emanating from this group calling upon the administering powers and the Trusteeship Council to encourage native participation in their work.

On the anti-colonial side of the Tunisian question were arrayed Mohammed Zafrullah Kahn, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, who formally introduced the Arab-Asian resolution, Mr. Palar of Indonesia, Mrs. Pandit

of India, and Mr. Entezam of Iran. These delegates led the fight for the Tunisian people's right to home rule, if not to total independence (the word "independence" was carefully kept in the background). On the other side, representing the position of France, were the delegates of Britain and Belgium. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd expressed the British point of view with his usual sobriety and effectiveness. The Tunisian question, in his opinion, lay clearly within the domestic jurisdiction of France, and the existence of treaties between France and Tunisia did not suffice to make the issue an international one.

But above the question of jurisdiction is a political question. It is an indisputable fact and a sign of the times that from Rabat to Johannesburg, through Khartum and Nairobi, there is tumult and insecurity. The assassination of Ferhat Hached, the Tunisian labor leader, against which the voices of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and of the pro-Communist French C. G. T. were raised in common protest; the rumors, later flatly denied, that France intends to depose the Bey of Tunis; the mass arrests in Morocco—all these events are facets of the grave political problem that France and Britain face in Africa, irrespective of what has happened or may happen at the United Nations. It is a problem of particular gravity to France, since the loss of Morocco and Tunisia would mean the loss of France's last base as a world power. But England, in its handling of the Indian problem, has shown that another way out exists. In any case, a peaceful solution could hardly be facilitated by the tone of the French note of November 30 peremptorily requesting the Bey to resume negotiations on the basis of the French proposals of last April, which he had already several times rejected.

Ferhat Hached's Death Warrant

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris
THEY ambushed Ferhat Hached's on a road, shot him, and battered his face to pulp; he could be recognized only from the papers found on him. These were left on the body so that there would be no mistake about his identity. So far only theories have been offered as to why the leader of the Tunisian Trade Union Federation was murdered. The London *Times* correspondent wrote the next day:

French official circles point out that the murder might represent a settlement of accounts between rival factions of the Neo-Destourian Party, the ascendancy of Ferhat

Hached in the party organization in recent months being unlikely to meet with much favor from M. Bourguiba and his followers. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the publicity given to the murder. Another theory is that he may have been a victim of Tunisian Communists, either because they were anxious . . . to stir up confusion or because they wished to retaliate against the U. G. T. T.'s move away from communism.

But when I saw Ferhat Hached in the rickety old wooden house in the Arab part of Tunis which was the headquarters of the federation, he suddenly turned to me at the end of an hour's talk and said with a slightly crooked grin: "And now would you like to see my death warrant?" And he took from his pocket-book a small

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folded sheet and let me read it. The first thing that caught my eye was the scarlet silhouette of a hand, apparently made by a rubber stamp; the text warned all "Tunisian terrorists" that the hand was "red with the blood of the enemies of France." Just as the Tunisian terrorists have been throwing bombs into the houses of Tunisian *beni-oui-ouis* (yes-men), the Red Hand has for the past year been bombing Arab shops and in recent weeks has wrecked the houses of more or less prominent Arab personalities.

CUI PRODEST? Ever since the arrest and deportation of Habib Bourguiba, Ferhat Hached had been the biggest thorn in the flesh of the French settlers and the Residence. The French authorities did not dare arrest him, for he was the main organizer of outside protest against conditions in Tunisia and had numerous contacts in the United States, notably with C. I. O. and A. F. of L. leaders. After serious trouble started last winter, he sent reports to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at Brussels, whose chairman, Mr. Oldenbroek, took a particular interest in the Tunisian federation, the only one of the kind in the Arab world. But for Ferhat Hached's untiring efforts, the Tunisian question might never have received so much world publicity or have been brought up so persistently in the United Nations.

Hached was also one of the most trusted advisers of the Bey and a leading member of his unofficial Crown Council of forty, on whose advice the Bey had rejected the concessions offered by the French government—concessions which had little in common with even the minimum aims of the Tunisian nationalists.

Poor Ferhat Hached! He was not a fire-eater like Bourguiba. I remember him in his tiny office in the Medina on a blazingly hot July morning. He wore a pale-blue shirt, and over it his eyes seemed surprisingly blue. He looked somewhat like a slimmer, fairer, and much younger Raimu—he was only thirty-eight. The "fisher boy from Sfax" spoke perfect French with just a touch of Midi accent. He was a likable fellow, did not seem at all bloodthirsty; he merely wanted the French to be "reasonable" and fulfil their long-standing, never-kept promises of "internal autonomy."

The only way to force their hand, he felt, was to mobilize support abroad, especially in the United States. When I suggested that this might be a dangerous game to play, since "American imperialism" might simply replace "French imperialism" in North Africa, his answer was that, unfortunately, it was the only way to rattle the French effectively and force them to make major concessions. He dismissed American imperialism as "not a very serious danger," adding as an afterthought, "It's a risk we have to take. For though we are more used to the French and would rather deal with them than with

the Americans, for the ordinary man in Tunisia things couldn't be worse than they are now."

The French authorities naturally hated him and were unhappy when foreign correspondents went to see him and were "filled up with his propaganda." The federation was hated also by the Tunisian pashas, for it was practically inseparable from the Neo-Destour Party. It was obviously less a trade-union federation in the usual sense than a nationalist organization with a strong financial basis—400,000 members paying dues of 50 or 100 francs a month.

The Communists in Tunisia are weak, but Ferhat Hached was, in any case, determined to have nothing to do with them; he showed me copies of extremely curt letters he had sent them in reply to various offers of "joint action." Determined to be on the best of terms with the American labor movement, he no doubt considered it good policy to be rude to the Communists, but this was hardly a reason for the Communists to murder him. Moreover, up to a point, he was pursuing an anti-colonialist policy similar to their own, and doing it much more effectively. The suggestion that the "followers of Bourguiba might have killed him is crazier still. A large portrait of Bourguiba hung in his office and he was entirely Bourguiba's man.

Since the murder the government has arrested hundreds—not, oddly enough, alleged members of the Red Hand or other French colonialist "self-protection" organizations but Ferhat Hached's immediate followers, including Messadi, his young assistant, with whom I had long talks in Tunis last summer. Everything indicates that the death of Ferhat Hached will unleash that mass repression for which the French extremists in North Africa and the pressure groups in Paris have been thirsting for a long time, and from which they have refrained for purely external reasons. One of the questions widely asked in Paris is has there been a new deal with Washington. Is the Eisenhower Administration going to turn a blind eye to North Africa—possibly in return for a more "reasonable" French attitude toward German rearmament?

Although the French generally have disliked American interference in North Africa, suspecting it of ulterior motives, they are sharply divided into supporters of a liberal policy and supporters of a tough policy toward the Arabs. In the government itself both opinions are represented, with M. Schuman still favoring "negotiations." But the tough policy is clearly gaining the upper hand, the policy of the men who boast that "all is peaceful in Madagascar" now. The 1947 massacres in Madagascar, in which 80,000 men, women, and children died—the government says, "Nonsense, it was only 20,000—was for them merely a surgical operation essential for the good health and longevity of the French Empire.

Spies or Sappers?

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

United Nations, December 12

THE United Nations, created for peace, is now being stripped for war. The glass palace on the bank of the East River is being readied as Fortress America. To the naked eye the "sandbags" are still invisible. But to the knowing, a call to battle has been sounded, and the accouterments of a war situation are already within the structure. They are wire taps, F. B. I. investigations, and a round-up and purge of Americans and nationals of other countries alleged to be subversive of the interests of the United States.

The equating of the fears of the United States with the interests of the United Nations is the predominant fact which emerges. On whether or not this equation is accepted by the member states of the U. N. depends the future of that body. What has created the crisis which now threatens the future of the U. N. is the insistence of the United States, under the prodding of the McCarrans and McCarthys, that the U. N. purge itself of so-called spies and subversive staff members, Americans or otherwise, in the interest of American security.

The verbal attacks upon the U. N., long current, were brought to a climax this fall with federal grand-jury hearings, followed by hearings before the McCarran Subcommittee on Internal Security. To these hearings Americans on the U. N. staff were summoned, as were officials of the State Department.

As a result of claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment, nine Americans who refused to answer questions put by the McCarran subcommittee were summarily dismissed by the Secretary General under new rules formulated precisely for this purpose by a hand-picked panel of jurists under the pressure of the United States. To accomplish this the Secretary General has abrogated explicit provisions of the Charter and arrogated to himself powers of which he was delimited by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Obviously the international organization cannot be served through the employment of spies of any nationality. But the integrity of the U. N. is destroyed if the tactics of totalitarianism are applied, and if employees, many of them associated with the U. N. since its inception, are fired without a chance to hear the charges against them and to disprove them if they can.

It is difficult to see why an American wishing to subvert the interests of the United States would choose the U. N. as a base of operations. There is no secret information of any intrinsic value in the United Nations.

The United Nations was conceived as an instrument of open diplomacy. With few exceptions all its sessions are public. With minor exceptions all its documentation is public. And all its documents, restricted or unrestricted, are available to all the member states including the Soviet bloc. The U. N. has no restricted military information. Even the Korean reports are public.

The hue and cry about subversion in the U. N. would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic, especially if one looks at the figures. There are some 2,000 Americans in a staff of 4,000; about 400 of them are in the 1,344 key posts. According to the testimony of John Hickerson, Under Secretary of State for U. N. Affairs, before the McCarran subcommittee the State Department has supplied information concerning only forty Americans—thirty-seven on security grounds, three on morals charges. Twenty-nine have been fired; twenty before the panel's report. The evidence on those remaining is said to be too flimsy to warrant action.

American employees are the largest national aggregation in the U. N., holding a little more than 28 per cent of key posts. The entire Soviet bloc has exactly seventy employees—nineteen Russians, twenty-eight Poles, and twenty-three Czechoslovaks.

Nor are those who cry for blood satisfied with the pound of flesh already taken. Senator Alexander Wiley, slated to be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, yesterday informed the U. N. that a rider will be introduced at the next Congress barring the use of funds for the U. N. "unless adequate security provisions have been worked out to guarantee that the United Nations and its organs do not remain a base for espionage and subversion." The United States now pays 35.12 per cent of the budget of the U. N.

The discharges begun with Americans are to be extended to foreign nationals on exactly the same grounds. Seemingly the policy of containment is to be applied to the U. N. staff. Alleged Communists are to be ousted and replaced by anti-Communists as a cordon sanitaire around the small residue of East European Communists, who will not be touched unless caught in espionage. Not satisfied with isolating the Soviet government and its bloc in the world at large, we are determined to complete their isolation within the U. N., with the natural consequence of bringing about a situation in which the U. N. will be, not an instrument of conciliation, but an instrument for ostracizing, pursued to a point where the Soviet bloc may be forced out of the U. N.

Is this an exaggerated possibility? The conservative *London Times*, in an editorial of December 2, 1952, voices exactly this apprehension.

It may well not be intended now to pass every international civil servant through the familiar searching sieve of motives, thoughts, and associations, as well as deeds, but the menace is there. And to exclude any Communist of any nationality from employment at United Nations headquarters—and it is difficult to read any other meaning into the words—would deepen the schism in the United Nations and would eventually drive the Communist powers out.

THE opening act of the current drama at the U. N. began on October 23 when the Secretary General named a panel of three jurists to guide him in dealing with the issue of how personnel should be hired and fired. On November 29 the panel reported. On December 5 Mr. Lie accepted its findings and began a series of discharges.

The jurists proposed that Mr. Lie should discharge any staff member who (1) claims the protection of the Fifth Amendment and refuses to answer whether he has been engaged in espionage or other "subversive" activities in the United States—this applies whether or not the person is a United States citizen and whether or not the protection claimed relates to acts before or after he entered the employment of the United Nations; (2) claims the protection of the Fifth Amendment and refuses to say whether or not he has been a member of the Communist Party in the United States or of some organization declared to be subversive under the McCarran act; (3) is believed by the Secretary General to be engaged in activities involving subversive activities in the United States, regardless of his nationality. Under the recommendations of the panel Mr. Lie is to be guided by an advisory committee of two senior officers of the secretariat, with an independent chairman selected after consultation with the bodies representing the staff. But Mr. Lie is to be the sole and final authority.

The report of the panel specifies that neither the Joint Appeals Board nor the Administrative Tribunal authorized by the General Assembly is to deal with employees in these categories. If these two bodies, set up to review cases of dismissal, should none the less refuse to accept Mr. Lie's decision and order reinstatement, the Secretary General should refuse reinstatement, leaving the Administrative Tribunal to assess damages, if any. Moreover, the Secretary General is advised to *refuse* to place before the Joint Appeals Board or the Administrative Tribunal the evidence on the basis of which he reached his decision. No standards are set up for judgment as to what are or are not subversive activities. There is no right of review or of appeal.

The recommendations of the panel, which Mr. Lie is putting into practice, contravene (1) the Charter pro-

visions as to the standards for the employment of members of the secretariat; (2) the limitation of the authority of the Secretary General as decreed by the Administrative Tribunal, according to which the Secretary General is required to give to any employee the reasons for his discharge, and these reasons are made subject to review and decision by the Administrative Tribunal, whether or not the person involved is a permanent member of the staff or a temporary employee; (3) the fundamental concept of jurisprudence in the United States, namely, that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty.

Mr. Lie was within his rights in seeking the advice of jurists to guide him in staff relations. Where he overstepped his rights was in accepting their recommendations in terms which trespass on the provisions of the Charter, without authorization by the member nations.

Article 100 provides that in the "performance of their duties the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization." The only standards set up by the Charter were "the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity." These provisions were affirmed by the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 2, 1952, which underscored that members of the secretariat are international civil servants called upon at all times to bear this in mind, "while they are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political or religious convictions."

Further it should be recalled that when the preparatory commission was meeting to formulate the Charter, the delegate of Yugoslavia suggested that there should be a provision making the concurrence of member governments necessary before appointment of nationals of any country to the secretariat. This proposal was supported by the Soviet delegate. But the views of Yugoslavia were defeated by a large majority, and Article 100 was then adopted unanimously.

Nowhere in the Charter is there a requirement that the political views of the members of the secretariat should conform to the views of any government. The only stipulation of the Preparatory Commission was that in engaging the staff "the Secretary General should take the necessary steps to insure that no persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities with Fascism or Nazism."

In two respects Mr. Lie, in accepting the decision of the panel of jurists, has gone outside provisions of the Charter. He has added a stricture, neither implicit nor explicit in the Charter, as a barrier to employment in the secretariat—the stricture being against membership in the Communist Party, past, present, or future. Secondly, having been told that he should not seek or receive instructions from any government, he has had since 1949 a secret agreement with the United States whereby the Department of State has identified for

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him United States citizens employed or being considered for employment who would appear to be Communists, with a view to their elimination.

WHY has Mr. Lie lent himself to a procedure challengeable on legal, ethical, and human grounds? Is it pique at the Russians for their boycott of him? Is it a new bid for an American draft for the top post? Does he believe Communists on the staff are actual security risks, threatening the United States and the United Nations? Has he come to feel that there is no hope of conciliation with the Russians and that the U. N. would be better off without them? Since the future of the U. N. is at stake in the answer to these questions, it is not easy to excuse Mr. Lie's failure to share responsibility with member states before embarking on his present course.

Actually, the real architect of U. N. personnel policy is Byron Price, Assistant Secretary General for Personnel Affairs, who during World War II was in charge of United States censorship. Mr. Price was placed in this post at the direct request of the United States government.

Between grand jury and McCarran subcommittee a close relationship existed; and there is a suspicion that the persons summoned before both groups may have been on lists supplied by Mr. Price's office. Mr. Price is also alleged to maintain the closest connections with the Department of Justice. He is known to believe there are too many foreigners in the U. N. In staff circles he is considered largely responsible for the policies that have caused a deterioration of relations between the staff and the Secretary General and for the attempts to convert the Staff Association, authorized by the General Assembly, into a company union, rubber-stamping all administration personnel policy.

When on December 3 representatives of the Staff Association issued a report in which they expressed their concern over the recommendations of the jurists, the officers of the association were called to account by Mr. Price, who, it is stated, demanded that the association support the administration policy on the score that the American public would not understand their failure to do so.

The staff's views received no place in the panel's recommendations, though not a single indictment has been returned against any American appearing before the grand jury or the McCarran subcommittee.

The demoralization of the staff is growing by leaps and bounds. The common feeling is that F. B. I. agents are now to be found within the U. N. organization, and that wire-tapping is prevalent. The Hickerson testimony lends credence to the report, long current, that an American occupying a key U. N. post is in constant liaison with the F. B. I. That a group of informers is growing up within the organization is also a common belief—informers actuated both by fear and by hope of preferment.

Mr. Price has not hesitated, in replying to questions put to him by the staff committee, to say that he himself had drawn an inference of guilt from the refusal of staff members to answer certain questions. And yet it is worth noting that one of Mr. Lie's counsel, Oscar Schacter, is quoted in the December 3 report of the staff committee as saying that he knew "of no method other than the invoking of the privilege against possible self-incrimination open to persons who did not wish to answer because they felt that the hearing would not constitute a fair trial."

DOES claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment create a presumption of guilt, as assumed by Mr. Price, by the panel of jurists, and now by Mr. Lie?

Some discharged members of the staff, queried as to why they invoked the Fifth Amendment, stated that they feared the possibility of entrapment which might lead to a perjury charge. Robert Morris, counsel to the McCarran committee, in an interview which appeared in the *U. S. News and World Report* of December 5, 1952, pointed out that if a witness commits perjury before his committee he can be indicted by a grand jury. Considering the committee's customary exhaustive review of past events, in which every witness is required to be of infallible memory, the danger of punishable perjury is not fancied but real.

Mr. Morris also pointed out that a person who admitted membership in the Communist Party would immediately be queried as to who was in the Communist Party with him. Refusal to answer would make that person "susceptible" to a contempt motion. And there is the further fact that under a strict construction of the Smith act, a present member of the Communist Party might be subject to indictment.

Nor is denial of membership in the Communist Party a guaranty of safety from inquisition. In other words, every person queried by the McCarran subcommittee is in personal danger of being accused of perjury or contempt if he fails to turn informer.

Harold H. Corbin, distinguished trial lawyer, in a letter which appeared in the *New York Times* on December 7, reminded us that the Fifth Amendment was adopted as a protection against "the inquisitorial and manifestly unjust methods of interrogating witnesses, the temptation of prosecutors to press, browbeat, and entrap them into fatal contradictions, and against the zeal of the prosecutor and public clamor for the punishment of crime." Challenging the findings of the panel with respect to the Fifth Amendment, he said: "It ignores the fact that our highest courts have repeatedly announced the fallacy of the doctrine pronounced yesterday by the eminent members of the United Nations panel. The pitfalls and dangers of testifying are so obscure and so manifold that experienced lawyers do not permit a client to

thus testify, however certain they may be of his innocence."

The present personnel policy must inevitably lead to the transformation of the U. N. from a free and independent international body for international peace into an appendage registering the fears of the United States. But this will happen unless the U. N. itself resists.

The staff members who have been discharged are seeking a review of their cases by the Administrative Tribunal. That the Administrative Tribunal constitutes a formidable obstacle is recognized both by the United States and by Mr. Lie. Mr. Hickerson, in his December 10 testimony, stated that Mr. Lie was hampered in his findings by the Administrative Tribunal's decision that "the Secretary General is required to make a statement of cause in discharging an employee." Mr. Lie has recognized its importance by appearing before the Fifth Committee to request the appointment of a committee "to examine the premise of the Administrative Tribunal in the total administrative structure." Apparently an effort is to be made to scrap the Tribunal or curtail its powers.

The real question is whether the member states will follow the lead of Mr. Lie and yield to the panic current in some quarters in the United States or stand with Senator Lodge, who takes the view that the United Nations, imperfect though it is, is our only instrument for peace, has already curbed aggression, and would have to be created if it did not already exist. Senator Lodge, President-elect Eisenhower's new appointee as United States representative in the United Nations, said on December 10 that while the U. N. had not lived up to all that was hoped for it, it was nevertheless "the world's greatest adventure in building collective strength," and that the Soviet Union had refrained from "open, armed aggression" largely because the General Assembly of the United Nations constituted "a very real deterrent."

The issue has reached such proportions as to require full discussion by the delegates of the member states. If they choose to put the staff of the U. N. in the kind of strait-jacket urged by some Congressional leaders, then at least the decision, right or wrong, will have been taken by those upon whom the future of the U. N. depends.

Veeps Can Become Presidents

BY MONROE E. DEUTSCH

THE importance of the office of Vice-President of the United States is often underestimated, particularly at the time of national elections. Attention is concentrated on the candidates for the Presidency, and only a casual glance is cast at the ability and attainments of their running-mates. We should never forget, however, that the Vice-President has a good chance of being elevated to the Presidency during his term of office.

Up to the present we have had thirty-two Presidents. Seven of these have died in office—William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Warren G. Harding, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—almost exactly 22 per cent of the total number. Three of them were assassinated, and there have been efforts to murder other Presidents—for example, Roosevelt and Truman. Does this not make greater care in selecting the Vice-President a real need?

The nominee for the Presidency is always given free rein to choose who shall make the race with him. This year the grounds for his decision were obvious in each case. California was a doubtful state with a large electoral vote; the Republicans hoped that a native son would carry

the state for the ticket. The Democrats took a man from a section of the country usually Democratic but disaffected four years ago and irritated by certain incidents in the convention. Would either man have been thought of as Presidential timber? I think it is honest to say that both were chosen simply because they could help the party to elect its candidate for the Presidency.

Most voters make up their mind on the basis of confidence in the Presidential candidate. A few, however, may so thoroughly dislike the Vice-Presidential candidate that they refuse to vote for the man they consider the better fitted for the Presidency out of fear that the second man on the ticket might succeed him. It seems clear, therefore, that the "package deal" should be abandoned and the people be allowed to vote separately for the President and Vice-President.

Walter Lippmann, in his column "Today and Tomorrow," has supported the proposal of Charles Warren and Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., that when a vacancy occurs in the office of President, it should be filled by the Vice-President only until the next Congressional election, and that then a new President should be elected. As Mr. Lippmann pointed out, this would assure that "the rhythm of the constitutional term of the President and of the one-third of the Senate and of the House would not be altered." In my judgment, however, there are numerous objections to this plan. We should still have a man whom

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we never thought of for President holding the office for perhaps as long as two years; had the proposed plan been in operation when President Roosevelt died, the period would have been a year and nine months. In other words, we should not be eliminating the evil but only reducing the time it would afflict us. On the other hand, the President might die only a few months, or even weeks, before the next Congressional election. Think of the confusion into which the nation would be plunged if a new President had to be chosen immediately!

Moreover, a Vice-President who succeeded to the Presidency would find it comparatively easy to secure control of the party machine and win the coming nomination. Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, and Harry S. Truman all obtained the nomination on the first ballot. The man in office always has a powerful grip on the party. As a result, the undesirable features of the present system would be perpetuated.

Of course we might dispense entirely with the office of Vice-President and provide for a new election if the President dies. But that would take time, and in the interim action on matters of the highest importance might be held up.

THE other alternative—the separate election of the Vice-President—appears preferable. Against this it is argued that a man of the opposite party from the President might be chosen. That is possible but not very probable. Thirty-six states now elect their Lieutenant Governor separately from the Governor, but in only four of them—Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wash-

ington—were the two of different parties in 1952. Usually the electorate swings toward one party and carries into office most of that party's candidates. However, and this is important, if the candidate for the secondary post is elected separately, he must stand on his own feet and be judged on his own qualifications. And if at extremely rare intervals a Vice-President of the opposite party should succeed to the vacant Presidency, the situation would not be strikingly different from that after a general election which turns out the party in power and puts in the opposition.

It must be remembered, too, that under the present law the third in line of succession is the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who not infrequently has been of the opposite party from his two superiors. To cite a recent example, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., a Republican, presided over the House while Truman, a Democrat, was President, and at that time, in the absence of a Vice-President, Speaker Martin would have succeeded to the Presidency.

If we desire to secure as Vice-Presidents men of Presidential caliber, additional powers must be attached to the office. A man worthy to be President should not be expected to confine himself to acting as presiding officer of the Senate and voting only in case of a tie. If he is of the same party as the President, he should be a full member of the Cabinet. Certain duties should automatically go with the Vice-Presidency—perhaps membership in our delegation to the United Nations, or the chairmanship of the National Security Council, or the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. Such activities would not only make the position more attractive to an able man but qualify him to assume the Presidency should a vacancy occur.

Interesting evidence for the need of reform in our system of electing Vice-Presidents is found in the rating of our Presidents made by fifty-five eminent authorities on American history (published in *Life*, November 1, 1948). Twenty-nine Presidents were compared, William Henry Harrison and James A. Garfield being omitted because they served for such a short period and Harry Truman because he was still in office. Of these twenty-nine, six were rated "great"; four, "near great"; eleven, "average"; six, "below average"; two, "failures." Not one of the six Vice-Presidents elevated to the Presidency was in the "great" category, and only one (Theodore Roosevelt) was among the "near great." Two (Johnson and Arthur) were "average," and three (Tyler, Coolidge, Fillmore) were "below average." Thus half the Vice-Presidents who succeeded to the Presidency were rated below average. The classification apparently demonstrates that the men named for the Vice-Presidency are very seldom well qualified to become President. The nation must consider some other method of selection to guarantee that the Presidency is filled by men worthy of it.



Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Dicky Boy and His Pooch

Radio in Eclipse

BY MILTON R. MOSKOWITZ

Chicago

WITH customary hoopla the National Broadcasting Company has signed Robert Sherwood to write nine original plays for television. Both Mr. Sherwood and NBC said the event was something of a milestone because the three-time winner of a Pulitzer Prize will be allowed to work independently of sponsors and advertising agencies. (Advertisers will be given the opportunity to sponsor the plays after Mr. Sherwood has completed them.)

Frank Folsom, president of the Radio Corporation of America, parent company of NBC, told the press the network was happy to give Mr. Sherwood the freedom which "all fine authors require to create works of art." The admission that fine authors need freedom from commercialism to produce works of art comes rather belatedly; up to now the broadcasting industry has seldom acted on that principle.

Five years ago Llewellyn White wrote an important book called "The American Radio." Published as a report of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, it documented the advertisers' strangle-hold on radio programming. The broadcasters ignored this criticism, but Mr. Sherwood, when he signed his NBC contract, emphasized the very situation that Mr. White had exposed. "When you are dealing with sponsors and advertising agencies," the playwright pointed out, "you are dealing with people whose primary interest is not what you write in television. Their primary interest is in selling their product. We want to do the best possible work on NBC television, and having done that, let the sponsor come along."

It would be pleasant to think that the NBC-Sherwood contract signified a change from past practices in the broadcasting industry. Unfortunately, all signs point to an even greater emphasis on commercialism. The major radio networks are scraping the bottom of the barrel in an attempt to compete with their own creation, television. *Advertising Age* in its annual broadcasting issue reported that in 1951 advertisers' payments for time were off \$9,000,000, or 5 per cent, from 1950 and \$24,000,000, or 12.2 per cent, from 1948, and that in the first nine months of 1952 they were off another 10.6 per cent. In other words, advertisers are convinced that radio cannot hold its audience and are taking their money elsewhere.

Procter and Gamble, radio's biggest customer, bluntly told the Columbia Broadcasting System last spring that unless rates were cut, it would cancel some of its pro-

grams. CBS jumped at the crack of the whip and slashed night costs to advertisers 25 per cent. The other networks—NBC, ABC, and Mutual—followed suit. But despite the cheaper rates, advertisers still look upon radio as an overpriced medium. Procter and Gamble has just announced that as of December 26 it is omitting two of its three night shows on CBS radio.

The defection of listeners, and consequently of advertisers, is a serious matter for radio. It is typical of the industry, though, that instead of trying to build up loyal audiences, it is spending all its efforts on retaining the favor of advertisers. The absurdity of this course escapes executives who have long been serving those "whose primary interest is in selling their product." Thus, the quality of the radio networks' programs has reached a new low. With the exception of four CBS shows, all their programs this fall had what the trade calls a "track record"; radio is evidently afraid to do any experimenting.

In their effort to save advertisers money the networks are paring production and talent costs to the bone. This is one of the chief reasons for the influx of five-minute news strips. Half-hour dramatic programs on CBS and NBC are being put together for as little as \$2,000 a week, one-third of what such shows used to cost advertisers. The networks have found that a good way to cut costs is to use old programs. "The First Nighter," now heard on NBC, is repeating scripts that have been heard for twenty years. Two soap companies are being allowed to save dollars by presenting the same soap opera over CBS and NBC at different times of the day.

As the result of radio's policy of "sponsors at any cost" the industry's code of ethics has been gutted. For two years Charles Antell knocked vainly on the door of radio with his fifteen-minute straight commercial programs. Now the networks and stations take his business willingly. WMAQ, the NBC station in Chicago, told *Advertising Age* that it used one Antell program but listener protest was so heavy that it has never done it again. Other radio stations have not shown even this scrap of respect for listeners' opinions.

"He who pays the piper, calls the tune" is radio's motto, and that is why there is little hope of the public's getting any programs that are informative, educational, or really entertaining. Even when faced with a decline in listeners, broadcasters refuse to see creative programming as an alternative. There is another factor at work, too. In 1951 for the first time the major networks made a bigger profit on their TV operations than on AM. This will mean an even greater commitment of available resources to the new medium, although it will not guarantee imaginative television programs. Apparently radio has thrown in the towel. A sign should be tacked up on the doors of all stations: "Creative people, keep out!"

MILTON R. MOSKOWITZ is an associate editor of *Advertising Age*.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Muskets and Mechanical Men

THE WORLD OF ELI WHITNEY.

By Jeannette Mirsky and Allan Nevins. The Macmillan Company. \$5.75.

AS BIOGRAPHY "The World of Eli Whitney" is not especially interesting. Although its authors make skilful use of the known facts of Whitney's life and draw in addition upon some of his hitherto unpublished letters, he remains a shadowy figure. In company with Miss Mirsky and Mr. Nevins we follow his career dutifully but with scant excitement from the New England farm where he was born to the Litchfield schoolhouse where he earned part of the money to complete his education and then to Yale. We see him, somewhat at loose ends thereafter, go South as a tutor and almost casually invent the cotton gin on the estate of General Greene's widow. Litigation arising from this invention dominates and embitters much of the rest of his life. The remainder of his energy he expends in manufacturing large quantities of muskets by ingenious application of the principle of interchangeable parts—that modest precursor of mass production by assembly-line methods. Romance, though suspected by the authors, cannot be proved important to him, and he is fifty-two when he finally marries. Little contemporary evidence on his personal qualities survives, and his letters paint the disagreeable portrait of a man eager to grasp the main chance, politic in his opinions, and prone to bouts of hypochondria liberally laced with self-pity. We must keep reminding ourselves throughout that this stodgy personage changed the face of the South and speeded the birth of industrialism in the North.

As soon as Miss Mirsky and Mr. Nevins shift their attention to the cotton gin and interchangeable parts, the pace of their book quickens and its import becomes clear. Their sketch of the industrial history of England and the United States in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of

the nineteenth century is informative in itself. They use it to demonstrate how the rise of cotton mills in England and the need of the American South for a marketable crop combined to create the opportunity for Whitney's simple device, the cotton gin.

Even more pivotal to American development are Whitney's adventures in gun-making. Whitney was very far from the impractical and impecunious inventor of legend. His entire musketry operation was a triumph of long-range planning in the best tradition of the modern entrepreneur. He rationalized alike the technical and the financial routine of the large enterprise: his notions of cost accounting and inventory control, to pick examples, were much ahead of his time. And early recognizing that business men cannot afford the luxury of political partisanship, he enjoyed the simultaneous friendship of Oliver Wolcott, embittered federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, fervent republican. He lobbied, initiated training programs for his workmen, founded the machine-tool industry, and created a family business which prospered for several generations after his death. The methods in which he pioneered led directly to the masses of clocks, shoe machines, sewing-machines, and agricultural implements which soon flowed from the factories of the North.

All this is an enthralling story whose grip is tightened by its authors' dexterity in the manipulation of background material. An attentive reader will learn much about the patent laws of the period and American credit institutions, as well as the state of the industrial arts. Connoisseurs of educational experience will delight in Whitney's letters to his nephew at Yale on the proper deportment of a gentleman. "You will make it a solemn point . . . to avoid the use of profane language. . . . Strive to render your voice harmonious and pleasant, but let it be natural. . . . I am extremely sorry to learn that you have contracted a habit of sitting, walking, and standing very crooked. You must make a fixed, unalterable resolution to change this habit. . . ."

It is finally clear why Eli Whitney's life fails to compel the interest ordinarily taken in the actions of the eminent. Whitney was so absorbed in his work and so much the captive of his own inquiring mind and ingenious hands that in the end he rationalized his own activities almost as effectively as the manufacture of muskets. He fabricated his own personality as an incident to the construction of cotton gins and guns and so turned himself into an exceptionally efficient machine tool. We are then left less with an individual than with a type, the hard-driving, dedicated big business man. Whitney must have been among the first, as he was one of the most successful, of his breed.

The central virtue of this impressive book lies in its isolation of that moment in American development when South and North began to adopt new modes of livelihood. The historical accident that one man played a strategic role in both regions justifies the biographical form in which this piece of economic history is cast, although its central figure fails to betray more than a semblance of human form.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

The Masters in Color

GREAT PAINTINGS FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

By Huntington Cairns and John Walker. The Macmillan Company. \$15.

ART TREASURES FROM THE METROPOLITAN. Presented by the Curatorial Staff. Abrams. \$12.50.

HERE are two de luxe volumes for the Christmas trade. Each makes available through a hundred color plates, more or less, a selection of masterpieces owned by our two—or two of our—leading art museums. The volume from Washington is the second of a series begun in 1944. The volume from New York is identical in format to the Abrams publication on the Louvre.

The texts are entirely different in character. Each National Gallery picture is prefaced by a quotation from litera-

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ture, mythology, biography, art history, and criticism—whatever Huntington Cairns finds an appropriate pairing. The volume on the Metropolitan is of course much more extensive in historical scope. It is wisely divided into sections, one for each curatorial department, and each has its quota of introductory text and, at the back of the book, its detailed notes.

On the whole the eighty-five plates from the National Gallery are successful color reproductions. Exception may be taken to the plate of El Greco's Laocoön, which was made before the picture was cleaned at least two years ago. Its present radiant condition may be seen opposite page 120 of the Abrams publication on El Greco (1950). Considering the price of the book, a more up-to-date reproduction was surely in order. Without meaning to be tedious, I must also complain about the advisability of pairing Virgil's famous description with El Greco's version of the story, at least without some comment. El Greco follows neither the antique marble, which he doubtless had seen forty years earlier in Rome, nor Virgil himself. The physical combat is sublimated, the three figures are in psychological isolation, and the serpents lash only the design of the picture—not Laocoön and his sons—with their elliptical rhythms. Some sentences of Lessing, though he never heard of El Greco, would have made an excellent complement to Virgil.

The general run of Cairns's selections is, however, stimulating and informative. Highly recommended are the Japanese critic Yashiro on Botticelli, and Julian Huxley on the courting habits of a certain bird, paired with a Terborch love scene.

Color plates are more numerous in the Metropolitan volume, and they cover a broader historical scope, not being restricted to painting or to Western culture. They are of uneven quality. The decorative arts and polychromed sculpture are splendidly reproduced, but on the whole the plates of paintings are less successful than those of the National Gallery volume. Although the decision to avoid the glare of glossy surface is laudable, too many of the plates are blurred by faulty registration or too heavily printed in one or another of the colors employed. After complaining about bleached (Courbet) and over-dark plates (Pesellino, Crivelli, Steen),

it is a pleasure to welcome such accurate reproductions as those of Sassetta, Pous-sin, Hals, David, Cézanne, and Seurat. The perils of color printing can be gauged by comparing the plate of the profile portrait by Pollaiuolo with the same plate on the jacket.

All of which leads to an obvious inference: color plates are no substitute for visits to museums. I do not warm up, however, to the theory espoused by many writers and art teachers that an excellent black and white reproduction of a painting is preferable to a good color plate.

Costs being what they are, the publishers have supplemented the 130 color pages with 80 monochrome illustrations. These are of the highest fidelity. The total gives an excellent impression of the scope, the quality, and the variety of the collections of the Metropolitan. American art is not included, but a succeeding volume is announced.

An introductory essay by Edith Standen contrives to be witty, sage, and graceful all at once on a theme that could easily have become ponderous—the history and organization of the Metropolitan. I seem to find her deft touch in the sectional essays as well.

The publication of this book was successfully timed to coincide with an exhibition at the Metropolitan of the original objects which it illustrates. In view of the complications on both sides of this joint venture, congratulations are in order.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Biography of Napoleon

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. By J. M. Thompson. Oxford University Press. \$6.

I ACCEPTED the assignment to review this book with reluctance: after thirty years of omnivorous Napoleonic readings I had sworn off the stuff. Yet I read every word of Thompson's 440 pages. I need say no more in praise of a most unusual book.

The work left me fascinated and puzzled. Not about Napoleon—there are as many Napoleons as there are scholars or readers—but about J. M. Thompson. Every book on that subject is a "portrait of the artist on a Napoleonic background": inclusions and omissions trace a sure outline of the writer's personality. J. M. Thompson

exists, but I cannot picture him. Obviously he is scholarly, equable, equitable. There is no righteous indignation in him, no hero worship, no cynicism. He is free from eloquence, sentiment, irony, and pity. His sole desire is to find out "how things actually happened." But the selection of the "things" is unaccountable. Most military events are minimized: Thompson is no Oman and no Fletcher Pratt. But the emphasis is not on diplomacy, politics, economics, or culture either; and least of all on psychology, individual or collective. Thompson follows a thread of his own, and keeps his own counsel. Perhaps he is not aware of his own secret.

We wonder for instance why the peace of Amiens, "received in England with demonstrations of joy risen almost to madness," should be dismissed with a casual reference, a single paragraph. The first seven chapters and the last three are strictly chronological; but the five in between are topical—a mixed method which involves many repetitions and some confusion.

For Thompson the climax of Napoleon's career came, not in 1811 or

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1809 or 1805, but in 1802. The Empire merely covered with a dazzling cloak a steady deterioration—weariness at home, mounting resistance abroad. I agree. But I would go farther back. Napoleon is but one figure in the mighty drama that began in 1789. The wrong choice was taken, against Carnot's advice, in 1795, when the government followed the will-o'-the-wisp of the "natural frontiers." Not even a wiser Napoleon could have made this unnatural extension of France acceptable either to the dynasties or to the peoples. Napoleon fought brilliantly a losing battle on an issue which had been determined when he was still a fledgling brigadier. Perhaps the fatal decision came even earlier, when England, in 1793, elected to stand with European reaction against the French Revolution. With England as a benevolent neutral, Danton rather than Robespierre might have steered the course of France, and

there would have been no Napoleon. It was Burke who begat the Empire.

Thompson is completely free from the delusions of the "legend." He shows its inception in St. Helena. Its growth—beyond the scope of this book—was due to two causes. The first was reaction: the Holy Alliance in defense of the Free World supported all the Francos, Syngman Rhee, and Chiang Kai-sheks of those days. The second was romanticism: Napoleon became one of the great myths of the time, like Don Juan, Faust, and Prometheus, and with the same disregard of historical realities.

Reticent to the end, Thompson reserves the moralizing for the very last sentence, and that a quotation from Marshal Foch: "He forgot that war is not the highest aim, for peace is above war." In contemporary terms, Napoleon was one of those "realists" who hold that there is no substitute for victory, and that you cannot negotiate except from a position of strength, when discussion becomes dictation. So he perished by the sword.

ALBERT GUERARD

A New Venture

ALL MY ENEMIES. By Stanley Baron. Ballantine Books. Cloth, \$1.50; Paper, 35 cents.

MR. BARON'S second novel comes to us under the imprint of a new publishing house, distinguished from other publishers by its announced policy of printing novels in two editions: a trade edition for the bookstores at \$1.50 to \$2 and a paperbound edition at 35 to 50 cents for the magazine outlets and wherever paper-covered books are sold. Obviously in this kind of venture both the author and his publisher are taking a chance—the author with his reputation, the publisher with his money—at least until it can be determined how the public is going to react.

"All My Enemies" is a spy thriller, in mood and temper very similar to the "entertainments" of Graham Greene. I have no hesitation in asserting that Mr. Baron is better at entertaining than Mr. Greene. Scene after scene is brought off with a crispness and a surefooted confidence in his material that mark Mr. Baron as a writer of distinction: a tense Jewish family dinner in the Bronx, a

bleak day on the boardwalk at Atlantic City, a train ride from New York to Philadelphia, a walk in Central Park.

Although some 75 to 100 pages elapse before we find out what Schneider, the Communist agent, is up to, we are caught up from the very outset in his rapid adjustment to the bewildering complexities of New York life; and we are not forced to plow through any of the portentous pseudo-philosophizing that mars Mr. Greene's stories. Schneider is a thinking man, but Mr. Baron does not make the mistake of injecting irrelevant ideas into the story, or at least not until it is too late to matter much.

In the course of carrying out his assignment—to establish contact with Dr. Tellermann, an eminent bacteriologist who has been barred from his research because of a previous meaningless Communist affiliation, and to persuade him to flee to Russia to carry on his work in biological warfare—Schneider meets some fascinating people. One is his former mistress, an ex-Communist who is now cooperating with the F. B. I. and earning her living by writing political analyses of Eastern Europe; another is a simple Italian manicurist with whom he becomes involved on the most available level because she is lonely and trusts him implicitly. In neither case is there any genuine reason for Schneider to become enmeshed other than the building of a tense plot situation, but even while we recognize the dangers in his basically senseless activities, we are grateful for the opportunity to meet these people, particularly the political woman, a real flesh-and-blood person.

But our gratitude cannot run away with us, and in the end we must recognize that Mr. Baron's plot is claptrap, and that we have been held to the end only by his admirable intelligence and by the respect he has for the English language. Unfortunately Mr. Baron's interests seem to end where those of the really serious novelist would begin: we are of course interested in the hunter and the hunted from the beginning of their life and death game, and we are fascinated by any glimpses we may be given into their minds, but for us the game cannot end with the discovery of the pumpkin papers. What did Alger Hiss think when the papers were turned up? What did he think during his trials? When he went to jail?

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What did Fuchs think when he was convicted? Were his confession and repentance genuine? And what of Pontecorvo and the two English diplomats after they had made their way behind the Iron Curtain? These questions are not raised by either Schneider or Teller mann, the scientist. They are questions of life and death, questions which must torture the human spirit, and it must make us uneasy when they, and the terrible predicaments from which they arise, are trifled with—even by such skilful triflers as Mr. Baron. He has the ability to do much more, and it is to be hoped that he will.

Meanwhile it will be interesting to observe whether the Ballantine dual-edition idea catches hold. There is no reason why fast-moving and well-written novels like Mr. Baron's should not do well in paper covers, but the very practicality of publishing them simultaneously in hard-covered editions that sell for half the price of other novels may defeat itself. It has never been demonstrated that American book buyers will buy hard-cover novels primarily because they are cheap and convenient—although the margins in this particular volume are narrow and the type a little too small for comfort; but it has been demonstrated that they will buy books as gifts, as prestige items, and as a source of pleasure through the years, none of which qualifications are as yet met to a substantial degree by the new Ballantine list. These, however, are the kind of objections that are always raised to new ideas, and everyone who believes in making good books widely available will hope that Ballantine Books can prove them to be irrelevant objections.

HARVEY SWADOS

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December 20, 1952

Films

MANNY
FARBER

I DON'T understand the belt people get out of overwrought, feminine pictures, but "My Cousin Rachel" must be regarded as a skilful blend of suspense, romantic acting, and infallible middle-brow direction. The first hour of the picture—which recalls "Rebecca," which in turn recalls "Jane Eyre"—tells us that a naturally sulky boy could be upset by a woman who seems to have poisoned the boy's beloved guardian after driving him crazy, spending his money, and carrying on with an Italian lawyer. After that, the boy falls in love with the Wicked Woman, and the second hour finds him living through a small-scale hell. The picture happens to be a mystery, but because it is tied to the wispy conventions of romantic fiction, it never gets on the road. There is a reliance on candlelit scenes which probably made for thrilling literary descriptions, but it means that the actor has to wade through a choppy filigree of lights and shadows before he can steal a crucial letter or jealously peer up at a boudoir window. The situations are of a type that could be rehearsed in chairs, the few active ones having a tendency to seem silly in a medium that depends so heavily on authenticity. For instance, the meatiest romantic sequence shows the hero climbing to a balcony at midnight, throwing a ton of the family jewels at the siren's feet, and then kissing her with such force that the camera lens begins to perspire and the scene fades off into a blur. Richard Burton, in the anguished hero's role, has an active grace, and can do anything Montgomery Clift invented—looking and listening with the wide-awake surprise of a woodpecker who has just happened into an oil field—with more style and masculinity. Olivia de Havilland does not seem either charming or wicked, but now that she has been through Shaw-Shakespeare, she can musicalize every sentence, without seeming to know what she is saying, and move with the firm, cold conviction of an actress who has finally overcome an inferiority complex.

"Above and Beyond" stalks a real-life hero named Paul W. Tibbetts, Jr., in a

picture that is interesting despite its lack of filmic virtues. The history it simplifies begins at the atom-bomb proving ground and goes on to Hiroshima, and I suppose part of the entertainment lies in watching M-G-M make a valiant attempt to dodge the reverential clichés of shrines-to-the-living. At the start Tibbetts's wife is worrying over whether her marriage is on the rocks, and then via a two-hour-six-minute flashback we see her husband tangle with the big brass, B-29's, and security agents, acquire a reputation as a swelled-up perfectionist disciplinarian, neglect his marriage, and generally worry-frown his way through the difficulties of running the bomb tests at Wendover, Utah. Robert Taylor ushers in the atomic age with a good, negative performance that consists of trying not to look too communicative, handsome, or triumphant.

At no point does the camera tell the story; the film is done in clear, sunny shots with the main fact always anchored firmly in the center of the screen. Anyone who remembers early air films like

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"Only Angels Have Wings" is bound to miss the loose-jointed animation of a Grant or Cagney, the climactic excitement of watching a box-kite plane take off in a storm from a postage-stamp airfield, such visual inventions as a hawk smashing through the glass of a plane, and the unforgettable tempo of the crash ending in "Ceiling Zero." This script is on the mild side all the way ("Dimples eight two from north Tinian tower"); when the first shock wave from the bomb hits the Enola Gay, a white light fills the plane—the camera seems to have snapped suddenly—and then the movie settles back into its precise treading of general facts. It might have been more interesting if someone had been more faithful to trivia—like showing the human side of the fateful crew that started chomping on ham sandwiches and no doubt wondered whether radioactivity would make them sterile. But the script skips from the newsreel record of Hiroshima back to Tinian, where you see Tibbetts walking toward a four-star general and another decoration. Also, there is a remarkable reluctance by M-G-M to credit anyone (Truman, Stimson) but Mr. Tibbetts for the terrible decision of killing so many Japs with one efficient maneuver.

Though no one can make a certain

kind of tragical-comical-pastoral picture like the French, "Jeux Interdits" is the only one I have liked since "Goupi Mains Rouge." The story—about the morbid entertainments of a five-year-old girl whose parents have been machine-gunned in an air raid and an eleven-year-old peasant boy who takes her home—has been managed by René Clément in the shocking but convincing style of the "Red Hands" film. The most remarkable performance is that of a peasant father (Lucien Hubert) who seems to be created out of unfertile country earth. His manner—the cigarette that drips off the front of his lip, the way he beats up his kids with a mel-low brutality, his way of wasting through the hours between supper and sleep—is achieved with the most frugal type of pantomime. Yet it tells you all that exasperates him about his family and all that he has picked up in wisdom through a lifetime. The homely settings are photographed in crude darks and lights so that the scenes of children fleeing down a country road at night give the scary, bleak, adventuresome feeling of country life to a degree that must be recalled from childhood experience.

Most of my reservations are small: there is a cartoon quality about the

farmers' feud, and at least three of the teen-agers think it is right to play country kids as morons. The only major dislike has to do with Director René Clément's glibness with difficult effects. As a result the movie goes precious in those places where it should be plainly and simply terrifying, as when the five-year-old starts down a long, completely vertical ladder and later when she reacts to violence with the cheek-clawing hysteria of an over-protected spinster. Nevertheless, his best effects are quite simple and original; these usually have to do with showing the fleeting emotions of small children when their games are a sort of startling mimicry of what is going on in the adult world. The two stars, Brigitte Fossey and Georges Poujouly, manage to be natural, comic, and utterly moving in a hair-raising way without even trying. You should see this film, even at art-theater prices.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

VERDI'S earlier works were once described by Bernard Shaw as "that ultra-classical product of Romanticism, the grandiose Italian opera in which the executive art consists in a splendid display of personal heroics." That grandiose quality and the splendid display of heroics are things one has to hear as well as see; indeed if one doesn't hear them in the music there is little use in one's seeing them on the stage. And the Metropolitan's new "Forza del Destino" is defeated throughout, first of all, by the performance of the orchestral part under Stiedry's nerveless direction—the complete lack of cohesive tension, sharpness, and power, as distinguished from the mere raucous noise that is produced occasionally. In addition there is Milanov's singing, not a splendid display but a painful struggle—or at least it is painful for me to listen to a voice which has lost all its former loveliness and flexibility maneuver and scoop and push in the production of sounds that at best are no longer agreeable even in *mezza voce* and are cold even when powerful and clear, and that at worst are tremulously shrill and not absolutely on pitch. Even Tucker's singing, though clear and secure, sounds con-

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stricted as though from strain; and his voice lacks sensuous warmth and luster. That sensuous beauty—refreshing the ear as water the parched earth—one hears only in Warren's singing, but only in the few quiet passages: most of the time one hears the bawling that forces his voice into a huge, clouding, ear-shattering vibrato.

Nor is the stage production—made sumptuous and distinguished by Ber- man's sets and costumes—at all times dramatically effective. Its worst failure is the act with the three scenes at Vel- letri, in which one sees not only feeble and laughable details of stage action contrived by Dr. Graf but some absurdi- ties that are a consequence of the com- bining of the three scenes into one. Its announced purpose is to eliminate the interruptions for change of scenery (and incidentally it saves the cost of two sets); but what it does is to present as one continuous sequence the events in three places separated by intervals of time—with the result that whereas for- merly, as Verdi had it, one saw Don Alvaro carried off on a stretcher badly wounded and then saw him, after the interval of sufficient time indicated by the lowered curtain, reappear in a dif- ferent place recovered from his wound, now at the Metropolitan one sees him carried off and, absurdly, walk back on in the same scene a few minutes later. What happens in this work is preposter- ous enough without bright new ideas that convert even the occasional bit of sense in it to additional nonsense.

Tuning in for the broadcast of a later performance of "Forza" I heard Mr. Bing, in his little speech of wel- come to the radio audience, say that no better singers could be heard anywhere in the world today than those who were to sing the leading roles that afternoon. My first thought was that Mr. Bing un- doubtedly knew better than he spoke— knew, for example, of Renata Tebaldi and knew that she was a better singer than Milanov today—until I remem- bered his engagement of the tenor Del Monaco. My further thought was of the danger of telling the public Milanov's tremulous shrillness was the best sing- ing it could hear anywhere: the public might, in Shaw's words, say reverently, "This is classical music. This is above our heads, this is," and decide not to listen to it anymore—until I remem-

bered that the public applauds bad sing- ing as loudly as good, Del Monaco as much as Bjoerling, Milanov as much as Steber. And my final thought was that an enlightened director presenting opera to such an unenlightened public will not take advantage of its lack of dis- crimination but will rather try to de- velop in it the discrimination it lacks— will try, that is, by letting the public hear only what is good, to give it the ability to perceive that something is bad (which requires, of course, that he him- self be aware of the difference between Del Monaco's hard-voiced yelling and Bjoerling's lustrous-voiced lyricism).

With ballet at City Center the objec- tive is similar, the method different. A management which would like the peo- ple who are impressed by public repre- sentations of private neuroses and corny cuteness and humor to acquire a suscep- tibility to, and taste for, poetic sugges- tion through dancing, is right in pre- senting the dance ballets of Balanchine on programs with the others. It is right first of all because of the obligation to present the work of other choreogra- phers than Balanchine—certainly when this work is as pleasant and engaging as "Mother Goose" or "Cakewalk," and even when it is as bad as some of Rob- bins's pretentious pieces but the product of gifts which he may again use in the unpretentious way that produced "Fancy Free" and his brilliant ballets in musical shows. It is right also because when people come to see "The Age of Anxi- ety" and "The Cage" they also see "Sinfonie Concertante" and "Four Temperaments," and—no less impor- tant—provide some of the money needed to keep "Sinfonie Concertante" and "Four Temperaments" on view. And the method seems to have worked and to be paying off: the programs com- posed preponderantly of Balanchine pieces have attracted so much larger audiences this year that the engagement has been extended indefinitely. The fact that some of those pieces aren't sched- uled during the first weeks of the ex- tension doesn't mean that the method has been abandoned after it has suc- ceeded: presumably it is in order to make room for a few novelties; and "Card Game," "Orpheus," "Sinfonie Concertante," and "Caracole," (with, one hopes also, "Divertimento") will reappear in later weeks.

Meanwhile an additional word to complete my report on Balanchine's "Metamorphoses." Except for the quite lovely music for the wonderful sup- ported adagio the Hindemith score is poor; and its astonishing banal procla- mations in the final movement have de- feated Balanchine completely. But the earlier music has stimulated him to pro- duce two scenes which I see as large- scale developments of what he did with the American musical show style in "Card Game"—energetic, eccentric, and jazzy, and with a spectacular theatrical brilliance from Karinska's costumes and Jean Rosenthal's lighting.

CORRECTION: In last week's issue of *The Nation* "Religion in 20th-Century America" was mistakenly identified as published by Howard University Press. Harvard University Press is the pub- lisher.

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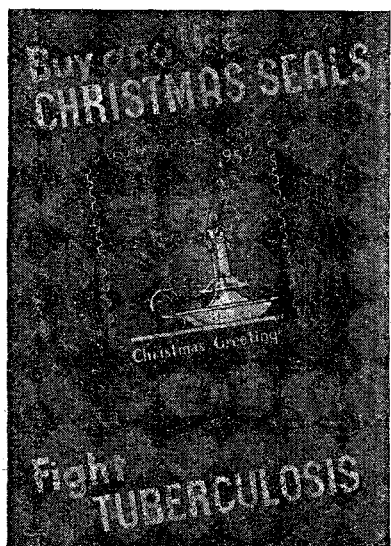
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Political Tests for Musicians

Dear Sirs: The Toronto Symphony Orchestra is one of the greatest cultural achievements of Canadian musicians and their supporting public. Today that body is endangered by its refusal to reengage six artists simply because, out of a season of eighty concerts, they cannot meet one engagement in Detroit. The United States immigration authorities, for unexplained reasons, have refused them border-crossing permits. The usual contract permits several absences in a season for reasons beyond the artists' control. Actually, there is seldom a full complement at any performance.

No question of the competence of these musicians is involved. They are all Canadian citizens and have served with the orchestra for several years. If these dismissals are carried through, it will mean that any musician, before being employed by the Toronto Symphony, will have to meet unknown requirements laid down in some other country before his talents as a Canadian musician are recognized. If this is tolerated, Canadian talent will go to waste, and our leading musical body will deteriorate. The unexplained action of an immigration authority other than Canadian must not be allowed to decide whether Canadians are to be permitted to hear Canadian musicians, or to employ them. In such an atmosphere no art or artist can thrive.
Toronto HENRY F. BIRD

Lincoln Students Support Mugo

Dear Sirs: I am writing to express my appreciation of Professor St. Clair Drake's article entitled *The Terror That Walks by Day* in the November 29 issue of *The Nation*. The Student Senate of Lincoln University has passed a resolution in support of Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, and we sincerely hope that Mugo will be able to complete his education here at Lincoln University so that he may some day help his people. The resolution reads as follows:

We the Student Senate of Lincoln University hereby express our wholehearted support for Mr. Mugo Gatheru in his efforts to remain in the United States of America in order to obtain an American education. We are proud to state that we have a strong faith in Mr. Gatheru's integrity as an individual and in his ability as a college student.

Mr. Gatheru hopes some day to help educate his people so that they may be able to help in the democratic progress of mankind, and we have a sincere faith in his desire to do this. To this end, we feel that the deportation order sent to Mr. Gatheru by the United States Immigration Bureau should be reconsidered and subsequently revoked.

A democratic Africa can only be obtained through the hard and sincere work of its educated men, and we therefore hope that Mr. Gatheru will be able to take part in this democratic progress.

[Signed] STUDENT SENATE BODY,
Lincoln University

As Professor Drake pointed out in his article, it will be very difficult for Mugo-son-of-Gatheru to believe in the true meaning of the Statue of Liberty if the United States Immigration Bureau allows itself to do the dirty work of the Kenya government—a government that is opposed to everything the Statue of Liberty stands for.

MARTIN L. KILSON, JR.
Lincoln University, Pa.

For a Vocal Opposition

Dear Sirs: I am writing to you in the belief that your readers may be interested in an organization formed in Wisconsin last week. With the thought that the people who voted for Stevenson were inspired by his magnificent radio addresses, "Dollars for Sense" was organized to raise money to keep Governor Stevenson talking sense to the American people. If all the people who voted for Stevenson contributed one dollar apiece, a fund of over twenty-six million dollars would be raised.

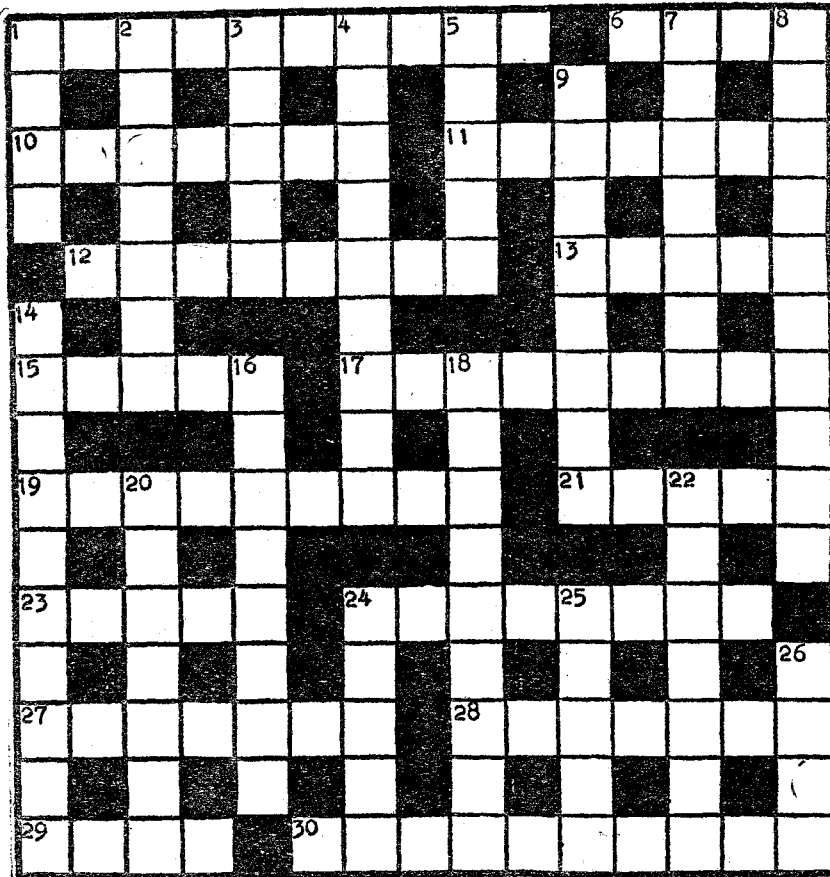
The plan was launched in Madison, Wisconsin, at a post-election meeting of persons bearing no party label and was received with great enthusiasm. As a result of stories carried by the wire services, contributions and offers of help have been received from all parts of the country.

I hope that every reader of *The Nation* who wants Governor Stevenson to continue to talk sense to the American people will send his dollar to "Dollars for Sense," 911 Swarthmore Court, Madison, Wisconsin.

HAROLD R. WOLFE,
Chairman, "Dollars for Sense"
Madison, Wis.

Crossword Puzzle No. 495

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Latin-American cave-human? You shouldn't be surprised with one! (4-3, 3)
- 6, 12 and 24 across. How to hang on to more than one fool? (4, 4, 4, 5, 3)
- 10 Influential, if good. (7)
- 11 In the water, it's a bad matter that bears a little weight first. (7)
- 12 See 6
- 13 Originally square for the inverse of *mu*. (5)
- 15 Furnished with propelling blades. (5)
- 17 Descriptive of layers. (9)
- 19 Sounds like one who believes conditions are favorable might be lamenting, yet they might represent your aims. (5-4)
- 21 Short trees. (5)
- 23 Barely a head, by the sound of it, but it's 15. (5)
- 24 See 6.
- 27 I retain it, but it's sometimes not easy to overcome. (7)
- 28 Ivan Skavar was a wily one! (7)
- 29 See 18 down
- 30 A ridge on the Little Big Horn for Long Yellow Hair? (10)

DOWN

- 1 He's always bringing up the subject of Christmas! (4)
- 2 See 18 down.
- 3 The Waldorf's was famous. (5)

- 4 Note—it's my profession! (9)
- 5 Granulated sugar? (5)
- 7 Grass to spare, obviously! (7)
- 8 Does he teach ancient history? (4, 6)
- 9 Either the little mother or the short street, indicating a mourning period. (4-4)
- 14 Combs out, in scarcely any tangle. (10)
- 16 What seems dreary? This sort of tale does. (8)
- 18, 2 down and 29 across. What happens if you avoid applying it to the grindstone? (3, 2, 4, 3, 4, 4)
- 20 Openings, with you surrounded by sweethearts. (7)
- 22 The mainland portion of Spanish Guinea. (3, 4)
- 24 Expect to find a carol singer here? (5)
- 25 Liliaceous if a plant, magnoliaceous if a tree. (5)
- 26 Just a trifle put on before others. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 494

ACROSS:—1 STRATAGEMS; 6 IBIS; 10 REMARKS; 11 GENTIAN; 12 PERMANENT TOOTH; 14 HEDONIST; 15 EVELYN; 16 RIBBON; 18 STANHOPE; 22 DARNING NEDDLES; 24 GRISTLE; 25 BETWEEN; 26 SAGE; 27 PLAY BY PLAY.

DOWN:—1 SHROPSHIRE; 2 RUMORED; 3 TERRA INCOGNITA; 4 GUSHERS; 5 MIGHTY; 7 BRISTOL; 8 SANE; 9 INCONVENIENTLY; 13 INCENSANCY; 17 BEAMING; 19 TENABLY; 20 OIL WELL; 21 ANNEAL; 23 AGES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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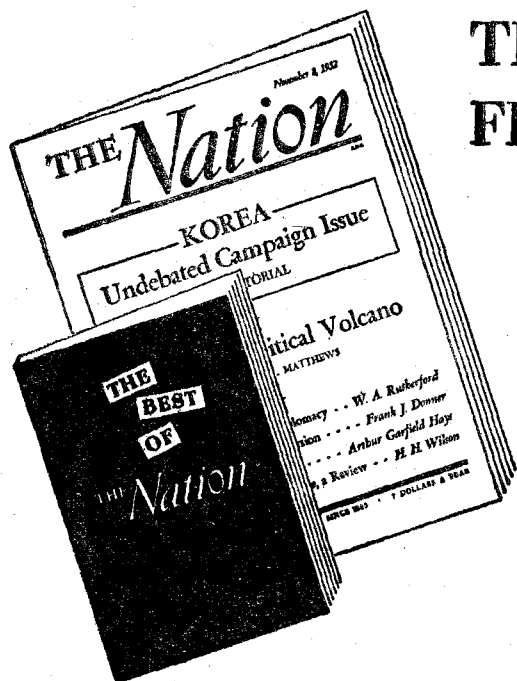
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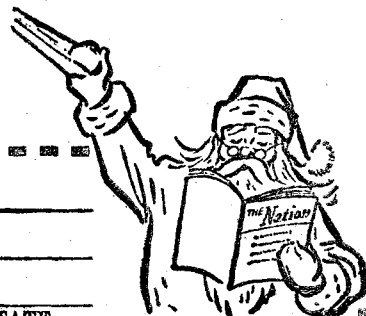
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